262 tea," [illegible] (*[illegible]*); and maiyek, eleusine beer, made, though seldom,
[213] in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called [illegible].

Trade and Exchange

439 The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. [648] Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated [177] much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and [582] there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi ● [181] fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

[184] From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. [439] There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1938 were:

[438]
1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about ½ lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck);
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

[415] The bag, [illegible], is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

231 The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. [197] Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1938 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. [241] When they were evicted from the forest in 1927 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle, but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938-9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Kanu of [illegible] … …	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kanu of [illegible] … …	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kanu of [illegible] … …	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[191] Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

Ic Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL4 Dorobo FL4

patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives. 553 [102]

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1928-30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tum*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals. [illegible]

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *sesi* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cepkwoek*, the senior; *Taiputik* or *Kipkeliotwek*, the middle; and *Kasaokwek* or *Kipsaotik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own kin, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation. 561 [97] [781] [574]

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*koreuek*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest. 621 [illegible]

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap oret*, the animal of the clan.¹ The existence of eight clans is admitted by genealogies and the context; three others are reported to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1937 as well as in 1938-9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Kio which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Kio, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Kio marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan system, which except for one of the original clans are all Nandi. 614 [illegible] [101]

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¹ The Nandi occasionally use [illegible] for this unit; it is a Nandi word meaning '[illegible]'.

legs straight and hands crossed on the breast. Babies are also laid out for the hyenas, though if there is a [illegible], they are buried there.

Witchcraft

Witches, ponik (defined as among the Nandi, p. [illegible]), may be of either sex; females are said to be more common, though in 1938 the Dorobo said there were no witches at all in the [illegible] districts of [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible], and certainly no trace of witchcraft was encountered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, [illegible], and on her identity becoming known the witch was required to [illegible] the [illegible] on the face, breast, and belly with the fat of a [illegible]. If she refused, she was tied to a tree by a thong drawn tightly round her forehead and flogged till she agreed.

Affinity with Wild Animals

Possessing a ''hunting outlook,'' the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is unlike that of the Africans to whom hunting is a matter of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life round them, perhaps because they are wild men themselves. The [illegible] of Dorobo going through the forest [illegible] to the wild life there, for they know what they and the Nandi call ''affinity'' with the beasts of the forest. This was described in a text, in which a Dorobo said: ''The Dorobo know the ways of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we and they all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, for animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we eat some and not others, because we the Dorobo and they the animals all live side by side in the forest.''

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They used to have [illegible] horns which were blown to call people together in the [illegible] forest.

women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai.'[1] This account is far from enlightening, and when Sarbala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Mbulu live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serengeti plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro highlands), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[2] Lehira was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[3] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Asitoge* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Mbulu are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[4] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living farther north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sonjo, Salei and Pinyinyi) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above cheating a Masai as when the chance presents itself.[5] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural to the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or Hitesh

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[1] See p. [illegible] The Dorobo seen by the [illegible] may alternatively have been *Aramanik*.

[2] [illegible]

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo [illegible] who does not regard the eating of fish as [illegible].

[4] According to unconfirmed statements made by certain Masai.

197 apparent, but the outstanding dissimilitude, curiously enough, would seem to me to be the variations in the several manners of speaking Kiswahili. 194 The pronunciation of the Kwavi, once heard, is never forgotten. It is nasal and unmelodious, with interminable pauses after such words as "but" and "and." [illegible] The Dorobo method is characteristically lazy. Syllables to which the full value could quite easily be given are slurred over for no apparent reason. *Kuingia* commonly becomes *Kuin'ia*. *Fura* is often rendered *Fuua*—but this may be due to Wanguru influence.[1] The Kiswahili-speaking Masai is more correct and enterprising. He often acquires curious words and expressions, and by virtue of his volubility and his employment of peculiar constructions cannot be mistaken. The *Arusha* speaks like the Kwavi, but without the pervasive nasal quality.

It is hard to differentiate on paper, but in conversation with representatives of the tribes mentioned the average European ear will not fail to detect the differences after a little experience.

111 NOTE.—I regret very much that owing to my inability to read German I have not been able to refer fully to Merker's well-known work[2] on the Masai, which contains much useful and interesting matter concerning the Dorobo.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

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[1] [*Fuua* is sometimes heard in Kenya Colony. It is a well-known tendency in Kiswahili—sometimes exaggerated by the Arusha—to drop intervocalic consonants, especially l and r.—A. W.]

[2] Merker: *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904).

barrel so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and descends, carefully extinguishing the tinder when he has reached the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the unsteady ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, like cattle to the Nandi, it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dorobo life would be vain and empty.

b) Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dorobo men, and though they hunt but little now, confining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dorobo walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nandi call *someit*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this example, which I took down after hearing it:

A. *[illegible] ap [illegible].*
The-feet of the-animals.

B. *Iro, ni [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible].*
Look, this-one (is) the-bushbuck, it-comes-from over-there, it-goes over-there.
Minin, a [illegible] minin minin, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
Small, but not small very, it-has its-child small.

A. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*
(They are) ours these animals, they-are-in our-forest; I-like (the things)
[illegible] [illegible].
which-are-of forest.

B. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*
Let-us-look over-there (in) that-forest, perhaps there-is the-animal another. What
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]?
(is) this that creeps-about inside?

A. *[illegible] [illegible].*
Perhaps the-giant-pig.

B. *[illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible]*
Yes, I-see the-beast. If-I-had the-bow I-kill that-one. But there-is
[illegible].
not-here the-bow.

A. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible].*
Let-us-see where it-escapes (to).

[illegible]

Fig. 3. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Pl. 6
[illegible] Pl. 6
[illegible] Pl. 8
Lango Pl. 9

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

REVIEWS.

[illegible]

/235 cont./

XII.

Character of the Asá, compared with that of the Masai.

In character the Asá in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it will also always appear in their contempt of the *ol meg*[1] whom they call *mande*. It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Asá living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Masai in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobo as in that of the Masai. The *ol kunono* is also completely without rights before the *ol torrobo*. The Wandorobo appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. When they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they seem /236/ to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the Wandorobo use the same words and formulas as the Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.

[illegible]

ash, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Asá replied: "We are poor people; when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

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[1] [A Masai word meaning "the uncivilized"--[illegible]]